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824 842 forest, gathers the herb in question, wraps it in a piece of cloth, and brings it to the woman, who immediately starts chewing it. This is mostly practised only by mothers who have already been blessed with a numerous offspring.

843 811 Both Iloko and Kagayan attach much weight to the capricious appetite of a pregnant woman, and to whatever she loves or loathes at the time, all of which they believe to have its repercussion on the baby that has to be born. So some years ago a certain Kagayan mother gave birth to a child whose skin was much more lightly colored than that of its brothers and sisters, and everybody explained the occurrence by the fact that the mother, while pregnant, had had a very great devotion to a statue of the Divine Babe, which was either made of white material or at least painted white, and that she had gone almost daily to pray in front of the statue in question. All Isneg, however, whom I questioned on the subject disclaimed both knowledge of such a belief and its existence among their people.

843 ● 776 Whatever may be the reason, the Isneg do not seem to dread the intervention of the spirits (*anito*) before the actual birth of the child. Do they perhaps imagine that the *anito* are ignorant about the ways of the flesh, and that they do not know the meaning of pregnancy? Or do they believe that the spirits have no power on children as yet unborn? The latter is probably the case. I think that in their eyes, as long as a child dwells in the womb of its mother, only what enters the body (food, semen) is able to exert any influence on it, and that [833] outsiders can in no way affect it. And so, except for a few beliefs with reference to food, the only precaution that is taken during the pregnancy of the mother is that the husband ceases having sexual intercourse with his wife so soon as her state is known with certainty, lest, so they say, the babe be injured. For the rest everything runs its usual course, and, although such a large number of magical and other practices have come to my notice at every other period of the life of the Isneg, the period that precedes the birth of a child has so far proved to be completely devoid of any belief in the evil influence of one spirit or another.

843 834 In some places a woman who is pregnant for the first time, is believed to assure the good health of her babe after its birth, if she eats *assáñ*, which is the fruit of a kind of tree that grows in the forest.

843 262 824 These are the articles of food forbidden to pregnant women which have come to my notice:

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transferred afterwards, so that the surmises of our men would seem really to be founded on fact in most instances. The question, however, is to know if this has to be so or if it can be otherwise. 844

Now, it has been proved already to everybody's satisfaction that a woman may give birth to her child anywhere, even in the field; and so I believe that I am justified in stating that an Isneg woman is usually delivered somewhere in the house, that the exact place is of no importance, and that in case she was not lying near the hearth during the event, she has to be brought there immediately afterwards, or, as in the Bayag case, the hearth has to be brought to her.

The latter case may even help to prove the exactness of my statement. It may happen of course that the hearth is brought into the house before the birth of the child; but that this must be done necessarily is very doubtful. Indeed that bulky piece of furniture has forcibly to be handled by several men, and one wonders how the men would always and in every case be able to proceed to this burdensome operation before all approach to the future mother is barred to them, especially when one considers on the one hand how little the Isneg care for the future, for what is not actually at hand, and on the other hand, how suddenly the occurrence under consideration may startle the whole household.

Consequently it is more than probable that the location of the mother at the time of delivery is unimportant, while her subsequent position near the hearth of the house is required as an absolute necessity.

From now on the mother has to sleep at the same place every night, 846 although she may have been moving around the house or even outside during the daytime. This lasts as long as she is considered too weak to comply with all her ordinary duties.

Is she should dare leave the house at night, for instance to satisfy 846 the wants of nature, she is liable to meet a certain spirit who is in the habit of coming down from his home in the sky whenever a child 776 has been born. Meeting that *anito* means nothing else to the mother but becoming affected at once with a violent diarrhea. A woman who has been struck with that disease through the action of the spirit just mentioned is said to be *maanikân*. For the rest the Isneg do not know the name of this imp; he is known only by the bad effects that result from a woman in confinement meeting him at night outside her house. Unlike *Talomásim*, who will be mentioned presently, he exerts his influence only at night, and besides, although the Isneg

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846 776 know how to keep *Talomásim* at a distance, in the case of this nameless spirit they are absolutely powerless: the only way for a young Isneg mother to avoid him is to stay in the house at night.

846 372 Fire (*apúy*) plays a very important role whenever a new Isneg citizen has been born on our planet. Leaving aside the question of the place of the mother near the hearth of the house which has just been mentioned, I should like to draw attention to the following:

1. Although, even under ordinary circumstances, the fire of the hearth is rarely extinguished completely, it is of paramount importance that it should not be let go out for a single moment during the whole period that immediately follows the birth of a child, which period lasts until the mother has recovered sufficient strength to move around freely, in fact, I believe, as long as the mother has to sleep near the hearth at night.

2. At least on the first day, that is before the child is one day old, it is absolutely forbidden for anybody to take fire or firebrands (*alitán*) from the hearth: this is strictly taboo (*kannáw*).

3. No alien fire may be brought inside the house on that day.

4. Three other taboos have also probably to do with the respect shown to fire on such an occasion: again at least during the first day, it is strictly forbidden to use green bamboos (*samáta ńa bólo*) to feed the fire. The same prohibition is extended to the passing of green leaves over the fire in order to soften them: this is very often done with young banana leaves, young palm leaves, etc. that will be used for packing and other purposes; the fire renders them very supple and easily pliable, in such a way preventing them from splitting at every turn. A third taboo concerns anything green [753 856] (*namáta*), not dry: nothing of the kind is allowed to be brought into the house. Should any of these three taboos be infringed, the Isneg firmly believe that the babe will become thin and emaciated, it will be *malandtán*.

844 A woman in childbed, wherever she be situated inside the house, is assisted by all women who belong to the same household, and even little girls are allowed to witness the birth of a child. Experienced old women of the neighborhood are called in to take the lion's share in bringing the event to a happy issue, in some places always, in others whenever the inmates of the house prove incapable of the task or when the mother has much difficulty in bringing forth her baby. Midwives are called *maña-lón* in Isneg.

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854 As soon as the mother is allowed to attend to her ordinary duties,
431 her first concern is to take her child and visit her relatives, her own
796 as well as those of her husband. These are then obliged by custom to give the little one a small bracelet, which consists in a string of beads and is called *battá-*. In each house that is entered for that purpose, one such *battá-* is placed over the wrist of the babe. Besides, the relatives who live in the same settlement with the parents of the child, have to perform the *maxaníto* ceremony (communication with the spirits), at which a chicken is offered by the shaman, before the arrival of mother and child. This *maxaníto*, however, is dispensed with in the case of people who live in different agglomerations.

853 The mother (*magtaxíbi*) gives her child (*taxíbi*) the breast (*magpasóso*; in Iloko, *sóso* means "breast"; in Isneg "breast" is *xátat*) at every turn, and the little one has always its mother's milk at its disposition. No sooner does the baby cry than this is done, since, for an Isneg, the only plausible explanation is that it is hungry. As a rule, a child suckles its mother's breasts as long as it has not cut its first tooth, but even then you cannot call it really weaned: a little youngster running around freely may sometimes be seen partaking
[262] of the same food as his newborn brother or sister. On the other hand the little babe is given cooked rice to eat very early, usually after five days; however, as a matter of course, this solid food has been chewed by the complacent parent before it is put into the infant's mouth.

854 The baby when at rest is lying down either stretched out on a mat or a piece of cloth on the floor, or more frequently in a *dóyan*, which is a rectangular piece of cloth doubled up lengthwise so as to form a kind of pouch, each end of which is suspended from some part of the house, like a hammock, by means of two strings or strips of rattan, so that it can be used as a swing.

854 If Isneg parents have to leave a little child alone in the house,
● 776 they usually confide it to the care of *Darazodáń*, a kind spirit, who is always at hand in such a predicament: he looks after the babe, without its elders knowing anything about it, and the little one never cries as long as he remains with it. Another spirit, *Laglagtmiń*, who has the shape of a bird, is supposed to bring up any babies who are not
[753 well cared for by their parents; but although such children do not
856] die while *Laglagtmiń* looks after them, they always remain thin and emaciated, which, of course, the Isneg do not consider as an ideal condition for an infant.

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not bother him, do not bring him in your midst, he is all right where he is. Pronouncing his name or bringing him into your presence is one and the same thing after all, therefore do not pronounce his name, at least if you are related to him, you at least should "pity him". Never mind if a stranger pronounces his name, he has no business with that dead person and does not care. But you, his relative, leave him at rest.

Of course, in all this only the words inclosed within quotation marks are Isneg explanations, the rest are mine; but I think I have not been far from the truth in my endeavors to show what was going on in the mind of the Isneg. Besides, the above are only two out of many examples that serve to prove the importance of a name and its meaning to an Isneg. In the following paragraphs many confirmations will be found of the same,—for instance, the preference given to names of people renowned for their bravery or old age, and so on.

Now, when is a child given its name? By whom? And what kind of a name is given?

These questions might be answered briefly and truly like this:

When? Immediately after birth.

By whom? By anybody around.

What name? Any name that sounds all right.

But such answers look very unsatisfactory. Let us give a few explanations.

The child is given its name immediately after birth. The reason, as given by the Isneg themselves, is lest some spirit take it upon himself to give it a name. And then? Well, I think the Isneg do not reason any further; maybe they know no case in which an *anito* gave a child its name, and so what could they answer? But I think that from his own point of view the Isneg is quite right after all, although perhaps actually unaware of it. Indeed if a child were given its name by a spirit, would it not be given its personality or something very much akin to it by that same spirit? And in such a case would the spirit not have all power upon that child? And who ever heard of a spirit doing good to a mortal being, except under compulsion, through some magical performance or other stratagem? And so the Isneg do not take any chances: they give their babe its name and claim it as their own as soon as possible, to the exclusion of all malevolent *anito*.

Anybody is allowed to propose a name for the child, and, if it proves acceptable, the baby will be known by that name from now on,

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manalódag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákań*).

"A certain amount of *básí* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest

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584 1. The use of musical instruments, which he plays at the house of
832 the girls, usually while lying down in the evening, and which are
534 supposed to have a very soothing influence on the mind of any mem-
[828] ber of the weaker sex. As this is not the place to describe these instruments at length, I shall merely enumerate them and add a few of their most outstanding characteristics:

The *kuribáw*, a kind of Jew's-harp, entirely made of bamboo, whose tongue is struck by the finger at its fixed base.

The *axiwáń*, another kind of Jew's-harp, partially made of bamboo, whose metal tongue is moved by a string.

The *balíkiń* or nose flute, which consists of a slender tube of bamboo, open at both ends, and provided with holes along its length, three at one side and one at the other.

584 2. The singing of love songs (*magdaldallán*). This is done in the
832 daytime as well as in the evening, whenever the boy is moved by
533 concupiscence (*makibabbáy*). Such songs, however, are not the exclusive property of the male sex.

584 3. The pronunciation of special terms, otherwise meaningless, that
834 are supposed to have a magical influence on the female sex. These
192 are interwoven in the verses of the song and more or less connected with the rest of the sentence. Such terms are: *dumaripón, dumińídíń, dumardarobó*, etc.

584 4. The use of perfumes (*bańúg*), usually consisting of fragrant
832 herbs or leaves stuck in the headband; although unseen by the girl
302 in the evening, these perfumes forcibly strike her nostrils in an
824 agreeable manner. Any kind of perfume may be used for the purpose, but the most esteemed on such occasions is the *malindáw* (called *indáw* at Bolo). The *malindáw* is a small tree covered with spines and provided with very aromatic leaves. The *Andn* brook near Dangla flows through a thicket that is renowned for the abundance and variety of its odoriferous plants: *sílóyon* (aromatic leaves, parasitic on trees), *dítán* (aromatic seeds, a kind of rattan), *malindáw*, etc.

584 Here two spirits occasionally play an important role: both of them
832 are supposed to spread a very agreeable odor, and they sometimes
776 accompany the boys on their courting expeditions, although nothing is done by the latter to attract them. They are:

Asindw: a spirit who lives in the hills and always wears very nice apparel; he is supposed to be visible at times. He merely accompanies the boy and through his fragrance influences the girl in behalf of her lover.

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Iwaxán: a spirit who formerly was a man, assiduous in courting the girls and very clever in causing the latter to allow him to perform coitus with them. If the boy who goes to court the girls happens to have a small bottle of coconut oil on his person, which is quite customary, *Iwaxán* sometimes enters the bottle, so that the girl may smell the fragrance he emits and fall in love with the boy.

5. The wearing of beads. The most powerful in this line are the *buláwan*, round beads, varying much in size, of the color of silver, and possessing a kind of silky lustre. They appear in strings that are worn as necklaces or as ornaments around the headband. Although they prove very attractive to the girl when worn by the boy who comes to court her, these beads are not the exclusive property of the male sex: both men and women make use of them for ornamental purposes.

6. The giving of presents, as rings, trinkets, clothes, and so on. Isneg young men of marriageable age very often carry their articles for chewing bětel nut in a pouch (*kělây*), a rather large and generally multicolored handkerchief, hanging from the neck and dangling on the chest; two ends are knotted immediately over the contents with a large double knot, the other two are joined at the top and reach the neck of the wearer. All along both sides, from the receptacle up to about half-way between the latter and the neck, a series of rings (*sańkilát*) covers the cloth. The girl takes betel nut, etc., out of the pouch, and both, boy and girl, occasionally interchange rings, the boy detaching one of his own from his *kělây* to give it to the girl, and the latter adding one of her rings to those of the boy's *kělây*. Such an interchange of rings, however, is not always necessarily a sign of consent on the part of the girl to the advances of the boy: this in modification of a statement made by me in a previous paper (CAC–P, 1:226).

Incidentally it should be noted here that lovers' gifts are never returned, even though no further steps be taken or though some obstacle come in the way of the realization of the young people's dreams; such gifts always remain the property of the donee.

7. The use of love charms (*mańimud*) to force the girl to think of him. This item is so exceedingly important that I feel obliged to devote a few paragraphs to the same.

Love charms are used exclusively and very often, if not universally, by young men, never by girls. They usually consist of some herbs

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593 when he called out: " Here he is, now take a look at him ". At this juncture I do not know whether the wonder and astonishment that could be read all over the woman's face was any greater than the joy that radiated from old *Balúkat*'s eyes at having been able to give so much satisfaction to his wife. The first period of bewilderment and surprise being over, Mrs. *Balúkat* put down her basket, and both husband and wife started distributing fruits and vegetables to the whole company, putting aside the best part for the object of the old girl's wonderment. I am sorry not to be able after this lapse of time to write down the exact conversation that went on between the two; but I remember most distinctly that the whole trend of the dialogue showed clearly and patently how grateful the old woman was toward her husband for having granted her an entertainment which in her eyes was more than splendid, and how pleased the old man was for having been able to bring about the meeting in question.

852 After the birth of the first child, the young married couple *magpísi-*, which means that they prepare a certain amount of native sweets or cakes, called *písi-* on this occasion, and bring them to the parents of the husband. They themselves, however, are not allowed to eat any of them. The purpose of the *písi-* ceremony is to cause the child to grow up quickly and to protect it against sickness.

• 776 Besides *Sisína*, who is invoked at the time of the *amómân*, in case
593 the latter happens while a *sây-ám* sacrifice is in progress, there is another female spirit, called *Si-rápan*, who is supposed to have some influence on the relations between husband and wife. *Si-rápan* cleans their mind, as the Isneg put it, which means that she helps them to understand one another well and to be free from jealousy, quarrelsomeness and so on, provided their habits are to her liking. Married people who are displeasing to *Si-rápan* " are not taken care of by her and come to grief ".

2. Property and Inheritance

421 Husband and wife retain each their own property, whether movable or immovable (fields and so on), separately, and whatever they obtain, either by inheritance from their respective parents or other relatives, or through their own personal exertions, remains their own exclusively. The husband has no more right to his wife's belongings than the latter has to her husband's. Just to give an example: no man can sell his wife's *ikó* knife, nor any woman her husband's headax.

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These three facts combined prove that the Isneg, at least implicitly, consider a living man as consisting of two elements: the *baggí* or body, of which no more mention is made after death, as an *innát* (corpse) takes its place, and the *kaduduwá* or spiritual element that continues to live and is usually invisible.

Through death "a person ceases to exist as an ordinary human being". Indeed, the *kaduduwá*, although its life is similar in many respects to that of a living person on earth, is usually quite invisible and "continues to live indefinitely". I say "indefinitely": why not "eternally"? It must be remembered that the Isneg have no notion of eternity as such; they know that the *kaduduwá* continues to live, they never heard of a *kaduduwá* dying, but if it lives eternally, that goes beyond their comprehension, or, to be exact, they never think as far ahead as that. And so what looks to the Isneg as "indefinite" (living on indefinitely), if considered under our own viewpoint, would probably mean "eternal" (living on eternally). The corpse also is far from existing as an ordinary human being. Not that the Isneg consider it to be completely devoid of any animating principle, but that it is dead for the time being, and if it lives afterwards in the state of a *balańóbáń*, its life cannot be compared with that of an ordinary man.

The *kaduduwá* goes to live "ultimately at least in the realm of the dead". This will be explained more fully when referring to the state of man after death.

"Leaving behind an *innát*". *Innát* is the body of a man immediately after death, as long as it stays in the house, and before burial, if burial takes place. The *innát* is dead, it neither moves nor breathes, it needs neither food nor drink. We shall see presently whether the Isneg believe all dead bodies to remain in that state, in the state of *innát*, until decay sets in.

2. *Future Life*

What happens after death? And first as to the *kaduduwá*.

The night after a person's death (some say: "at any time after his death"; but this could never mean "immediately after death" on account of the necessity of the *innát* being clothed), *Kútaw*, the ferryman, or rather the ferry spirit, comes along to bring the *kaduduwá* over the great pond (*lablabbáń*) to the realm of the dead. Here, according to some informants, the *kaduduwá* receives hospitality at *Kútaw*'s house until the latter brings it on its way to the house of its relatives who died before.

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811 *Kútaw*'s boat, which is always fastened at the *dodóñān* (place on
772 the bank of a river where a boat is fastened, landing place) on this
side of the pond when not in use, has only one *pidpíd* or side plank,
776 which means that one side of the boat is open and unprotected, and
nevertheless no water ever enters her and she never goes down. Thus
the *kaduduwá* is ferried over the water in a boat that consists of only
about one half of an ordinary one, a boat cut in two from stem to
stern. When asked how anybody could possibly cross the *lablabbáñ*
in such a contrivance, the Isneg merely state that they do not know.
And in this they are most certainly right. But who would dare say
that the actions of the spirits have to correspond exactly with our
own? Their ways are not our ways, and that settles the matter.
Besides, the *lablabbáñ* is not an ordinary *labbán*, neither are *Kútaw*
and the *kaduduwá* ordinary men, so why should the boat be an ordi-
nary one?

772 The only other detail I have heard about the *lablabbáñ* is that it is
full of cogon grass (*tabbáñ*) and of worms.

776 *Kútaw* himself was once described to me as wearing a coat from
which a certain portion of cloth had been torn out entirely, and his
292 headax or *aliwá* as being deprived of one of its essential parts, namely
411 the *sáwit* or blunt projection at the back (cf. CAC–P, 1:233, fig. 68).

Once at the other side, the *kaduduwá* live a happy life in the
Aglalannawán (called *Tagtaggáyan* at Bayag) or realm of the dead:
775 it is good (*napiyá*) to be there. Their life is comparable to a dream:
they live in the same way as we do when we are dreaming. For the
rest, they do not change in their ways: they plant and reap as before,
have the same likes and dislikes, live on the same kind of food, with
none of their old preferences gone, and so on. The house they live
in, however, is not made of timber or bamboo; it is a real gold or
775 silver one. There they stay and never come back, except at times
and temporarily,—for instance, when they come to get one of their
787 relatives, in which case the latter is *makaduduwá*, becomes sick and
dies (such *kaduduwá* are called *gíbu-*), or when they enter the body
of a shaman in order to communicate with the living, or even appear
to the latter (perhaps only to the shaman), at the time of a *sáy-ám*
sacrifice, etc.

775 It seems to result from all this that even the Isneg have a kind of
double fate for man after death: one of happiness for those who prove
acceptable to *Kútaw*, and one of privation for those who have to
remain behind or are left unguided at the entrance to the *Aglalan-*

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764 And now the *inndt*? What happens to it after death?

776 As long as the corpse retains its name of *inndt*, which means, as long as the body is left in the house unburied, it merely remains as it is, inert and lifeless, at least apparently. The only calamity that might befall it, is to be snatched away and devoured by either *Karásaw* or *Wirwér*. Both are spirits with exceedingly long legs: while one of the legs rests on Kabugaw soil, the other one may have found a point of support at the other side of the river, at Alumani, a distance of at least one mile. Others state that *Wirwér* is the only long-legged spirit; according to these informants, *Karásaw* has no body, he has nothing else but two long arms that are completely scorched. When these imps want to feed on an *inndt*, and the latter remains unguarded, they pass the upper part of their body (or the arms only in the case of *Karásaw*, according to some informants) through the opening at one of the gables of the house, and, leaning on the tie-beam, catch the *inndt* and run away with it to devour it at leisure. According to another version, *Karásaw* is the only one who enters by the gable; *Wirwér* uses the door of the house to make his entrance. This has happened in the past *kanó*, say the Isneg. Now the little term *kanó* is a very convenient one for all kinds of incredible statements; it can best be translated by the Latin *dicitur*. *Kanó*, "so it is said", and that settles the matter.

The Isneg would probably find in these former losses of *inndt*, the origin of the custom of watching the dead: indeed they usually state that *Karásaw* and *Wirwér* only steal *inndt* that are not watched. In our viewpoint, the two are rationalizations to explain the old custom of watching the *inndt*. Anyhow both spirits are hated by the Isneg. Just exactly why they consider the theft of an *inndt* by *Karásaw* or *Wirwér* as a calamity, I do not know: indeed a dead body can do the living no good; on the contrary, it very often annoys them, as will be seen in due time, and besides, the custom of the *tarimbáñon*, which will be explained presently, seems to show that there may have been a time when the Isneg tried to get rid of an *inndt* without burying it. Or would the use to which a corpse is put by these *inndt*-eating spirits, entail the vengeance of the *kadudwá*, who may have nothing against the *tarimbáñon* with consequent failure of burial, but may have retained enough interest in something that was himself or a part of himself in bygone times, not to want it devoured by an uncanny member of the world of spirits? Such is probably the reason; the

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devouring of the corpse by *Karásaw* or by *Wirwér* must bring some punishment to the neglectful relatives, either by the *kodudusd* or by some spirit; while a corpse left unburied on account of the *tarimbáñon*, remains safe and in no danger of being fed upon by man-eating spirits, it merely loses its identity as an *innát* immediately, without having to be buried in a tomb. We shall meet *Wirwér* again in the description of a dead Isneg's burial.

Another reason for being watchful when an *innát* is present in the house, is explained like this by the Isneg: if at any time all people are asleep in the house, the *innát* or dead body stands up and starts counting the sleepers (*da-dáp*) two by two, and in case there is one left without a companion, which points to an odd number of course, this one left will die very soon. After that the *innát* leaves the house and takes a walk, only to return very soon to its former state and place. The sand that cleaves to the dead body is promptly noticed by the awakened relatives, and it furnishes them with a striking proof of the activities of the *innát* during their sleep.

What is to be understood by the *tarimbáñon?* This is how the Isneg describe it: in olden times, as soon as a person died and his body was laid down at the customary place, with the head near the wall of the house, before it was even washed or clothed, one of the inmates of the house (usually the husband or wife of the deceased) took hold of an *allú* or pestle (used to pound rice in a mortar), and with it rammed with all his might either the wall of the house or the floor from beneath, near the head of the deceased. At this juncture the *innát* invariably disappeared and left no traces behind. This was done, according to my informants, in order to get rid of the corpse without the necessity of burying it, and formerly it was a general custom. When I asked if a woman would *manarimbáñon* as well as a man, they answered me: "Yes, provided she dare do it"; but at the same time they insisted that in bygone times no corpses were buried, and that all *innát* were disposed of by the *tarimbáñon* in order to avoid the trouble attendant upon the burial of a dead person. The whole custom looks exceedingly strange, and many things about it cannot be explained satisfactorily, at least in the light of actual Isneg belief. What about the care taken by our people with reference to the clothing of the dead, the difficulties encountered by a *kodudusd* whose *innát* has not been attired in new clothes, the thousand and one ceremonies that are scrupulously performed before and at the time of burial, etc.? Indeed the *tarimbáñon* is said to take place even

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Iloko, means "communication, participation"; but in Isneg the term is very hard to translate. I shall give a couple of examples to illustrate its meaning: 761 192

In the case of death by accident, e.g., falling from a coconut tree: *neránud xapó kiyá iyág*, he died (!) on account of the coconut tree.

Christian Isneg explain Christian martyrdom in the same way: *ni San Pedro neránud xapó kiyá ápo Dios*, St. Peter died (!) on account of (or: for) the Lord God.

Students say: *ni Rizal neránud xapó kiyá ilina*, Rizal (the Filipino hero executed by the Spaniards in 1896) died (!) on account of (or: for) his country.

The other kind of death, which is obviously the most frequent and ordinary one, I call "supernatural" because the Isneg ascribe its cause to the intervention of the spirits. Death, in this case, is caused by the loss of the kidneys (*bokól*): some spirit, who is certainly to be classed under the malevolent ones, deprives a person of his kidneys and devours them, death being the inevitable result. 761 753 776

Among the spirits that are addicted to this destructive practice may be cited:

Libuxót, who lives in bushy thickets;

Xasilá- or *Xasilaw:* after having devoured the kidneys, this spirit besmears with blood the leaves of the trees and herbs that grow on the mountain on which he has fixed his abode;

Ápo, who devours the kidneys of people who die of what we call dysentery;

Mañlatóñ: this is the real angel of death; he does away with the kidneys of all people who die on that account, except of course those that have been bereft of their kidneys by some other spirit. *Mañlatóñ* kills all those that are spurned by others, he is the kidney-eater and executioner *par excellence*.

The error of such a belief might easily be ascertained, but autopsy is unknown among the Isneg, and so it stands. The better to understand Isneg mentality, it should be borne in mind that sickness as such is never considered as the sole or immediate cause of death, and this for obvious reasons. The Isneg know only diseases that appear outwardly, as skin diseases (*bunî* "tetter", *rasâ*, "itch"), *dazâñ*, "fever", dysentery, beriberi, and so on, while diseases with no or only slight outward signs are entirely unknown to the natives. And so if a person dies from cardiopathy, pneumonia, diabetes, etc., the Isneg do not doubt for a single moment that some ill-minded imp [763]

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must have intervened. With reference to the former class of ailments, some of them never cause death, except if they are coupled with further complications, while in the rest the symptoms (as passing of blood in dysentery, general swelling of the body in beriberi) are considered as the visible effect of the work initiated by a spirit inside the body.

In the same way, whenever some dangerous sickness fails to prove fatal and is overcome either by the strong constitution of the patient, or by some medicine, the Isneg attribute the cure, not to its real cause, but to the superior force of some spirit in league with the shaman, or to magic, all of which has subdued for the time being or completely driven away the terrible kidney-eater, who on that account has been unable to finish the work he began.

After what has been said here, it should not be wondered at that doctors and nurses have a very difficult time with these people, who have little or no faith in their ministrations and consider medicines as either operating through magic (in case of a cure) or entirely useless. Most of the time, however, medicines are given no credit at all, and the cure is merely attributed to the work of the shaman, whose help is always invoked, even in those rare cases in which recourse has been had to natural means.

Suicide (*magbanól*, "to commit suicide") must be listed in the second class: its victims are supposed to die through the action of a kidney-hunter. Suicide, however, by hanging oneself (*magpattól*) or otherwise, not by jumping into the water (*malimát*, "to be drowned"), is rare among the Isneg. I know of only one case in recent times: a few years ago a person hanged himself at Utul, but I have not been able to discover the reason. Drowning oneself would certainly be shunned by Isneg, on account of the probability of the *innát* being lost and deprived of its necessary preparation for the acceptance of the *kaduduwá* by *Kútaw*. It is universally believed by the natives that the relatives of a person who died by drowning, whether voluntary or accidental, will continually dream about him at night; this seems to be a kind of revenge on the part of the deceased, probably out of spite for encountering so many difficulties on his way to the other world. That is one of the reasons why the Isneg so sedulously try to find the body of a drowned person even for weeks at a time; if the body is recovered and buried, no such dreams affect the relatives of the deceased.

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formed by any of the shamans. Indeed, why should the spirits be enticed to obsess the shaman at a time when everybody is bent on keeping them at a distance? Besides, the souls of the dead should be left where they are as long as the *inndt* is in the house, probably lest the *kadudued* of the deceased be interfered with on its trip to the other world.

Women mourn and lament in a loud voice almost uninterruptedly, usually two or three at a time: when one group is tired, another one takes its place. Men rarely imitate them in this, especially after the first general outburst of grief, that takes place immediately after death is over, but they *magbibisndg* (slap one another's thighs: the game previously described, CAC-P, 3: 123-26). According to the Isneg, playing *bisndg* is a man's way of showing his grief: a certain chastisement of the body is undoubtedly involved in the whole performance, and just as the near relatives sometimes cut themselves at the death of one of their loved ones in order to show the intensity of their sorrow, so also the men, relatives, neighbors and friends, slap one another's thighs, often until blood spurts out, in order to prove to the whole assembly that they also take part and are far from remaining insensible in the presence of death. That a certain amount of voluntary infliction of pain is at the root of this question, is corroborated by the fact that some women occasionally take part in the *bisndg*, the more so that no member of the weaker sex ever plays the rôle of agent (*maúnd*), but merely receives the slaps (*magtán*) without rendering them. Expressions like the following may be heard frequently among the Isneg: "*Urây magdáza ya apéko ta zakkánnā-magsáñit* (even though my thighs bleed, as I do not weep)". In both cases, namely in that of men and in that of women, the *bisndg* is resorted to more especially by those who do little or no weeping; people, whether men or women, who do a good deal of lamenting, rarely take part in *bisndg*.

It goes without saying that the spirits are wide awake at the death of an Isneg, and that the survivors are annoyed with their unwelcome presence at every turn. Among others the following deserve special mention:

Dupappó-, whose tastes are very peculiar; indeed, he it is who absorbs the decayed matter (*saxó*) that flows from the nose and mouth of the deceased.

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776 764 *Ruńád:* a spirit who invariably approaches the house at the death of one of its inmates. He looks like a big tree, and at his arrival the whole house shakes.

Xánat: a kind of giant who is to be seen roaming around, either at the house of a dead person, or along some road leading to it.

Tuktukkál: a whole swarm of spirits who come to mourn and weep at the house of a dead person, especially if the latter is a child.

851 753 The Isneg strictly forbid all children to play noisily anywhere in the settlement where an *innát* is awaiting burial; if any youngster should disobey this injunction, he would invariably become afflicted with *bońkál* (wens).

765 A person who arrives from some other agglomeration bringing in a new jar at the time a corpse is present in one of the houses, may be sure not to be able to enjoy the use of his jar for a long time: the latter is *ma-dammán.*

764 As has been stated previously, the body has to be watched night and day. At night, when most of the mourners are sleeping, from one to three persons must always remain awake, and when the latter feel very sleepy, others must take their place, lest the punishment which has already been referred to be meted out to one of their number.

In case the deceased is a married man, the widow (*bálo*) has to stay near the corpse of her husband, as soon as the body has been dressed and placed in the required position, and she has to remain there until one night after burial. For this purpose a diminutive tent (*aróbón*) is put up near the head of the dead person, on the other side of the post, toward the hearth (fig. 3). This *aróbón* usually consists of a couple of boards for the sides and a blanket for the cover, the whole outfit leaning against the wall of the house. Only men take part in fixing the *aróbón.* The widow has to stay inside all the time, she remains invisible, and she neither weeps nor laments, at least not in a loud voice: if she does so, her sobs should remain inaudible or almost so. There she partakes of the food that is pushed in by her relatives, and there she sleeps. Since the *aróbón* is comparatively small, it is quite impossible for her ever to stretch her legs. If she has to go out for some urgent reason, a board is taken out of the wall, which is not at all difficult in Isneg houses, and a ladder is placed against it. As soon as the woman leaves the house through this improvised door, she has to wrap herself up completely in another blanket, and to reenter as soon as possible. In some places she

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and, in any case, it is much too easily consumed to allow them any degree of comfort.

Several reasons may be assigned for the exceptional poverty of these people. The spirit *Laádúsān* is very often the culprit. If it happens through his machinations that people are brought to the verge of starvation, the latter are said to be *malaádúsān*. Sometimes, too, a want of civic spirit that has been observed in a certain person, may induce other people to pray the spirits to have his plants consumed by animals, and consequently to cause him to become poor. In such a case, the enemies of this unworthy citizen are said to *maglábuy*.

Other people are simply *nakurmáń*, they are unlucky: they cannot raise anything on their fields, and the result is wretchedness and want of food.

It may also happen that some people are unable to complete any kind of work in their rice fields: they are *nadannág*. Whatever they try to accomplish, whether planting or weeding, whether clearing a field or fencing it, they can never bring it to a finish. This, of course, almost inevitably leads to poverty and ultimately ends in the lack of the necessary livelihood. Nevertheless there is an easy remedy to this sad situation: the only thing to be done is to prepare *inapúxān* (betel for chewing), and to offer it to the spirit in charge by laying it down somewhere within his reach, at the same time reciting the following prayer, which was given me by *Púlog* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch):[2]

Iápugko iów aníto ta dinā- pagdandannaxán (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, spirit, so that you do not make me lazy).[3]

A rather remote, but very real cause of destitution, is a person's habit of being late (*nekábut*) whenever some work has to be done. In such a case the only means for him to escape being numbered sooner or later among the needy is to shake off his inbred torpor and to imitate his more diligent companions.

In this connection I should be allowed to mention the lines of the hand, as the art of palmistry is far from being unknown among the Isneg, and a person who is *rappád*, which means that one of the lines

[2] The way to prepare *inapúxān* will soon be explained at length. For explanation of Isneg dialects and branches, see M. Vanoverbergh, Isneg Life Cycle, II, Marriage, Death, and Burial, Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1935, v. 3, no. 3, pp. 261-64.

[3] Lest I be prevented from finishing my work. This is said only of work in the rice fields: clearing land, planting rice, etc.

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intricate and obviously of rather rare occurrence: this is probably the reason why such an unusual way of flying has rendered it suspicious to the natives. It happens like this: the bird flies first from right to left, and then from left to right, in front of the person who is on its way to the field; after that it flies first from front to rear, and then from rear to front, at the right-hand side. This fourfold movement of the *labág*-bird is called *magsúñit*.

If, after having begun (*sumikáp*, " to start work ") any kind of work in the field, you happen to see a buzzard (*bukkáw*) for the first time, or a rat (*butít*) any time, stop then and there, return home and stay here for the rest of the day. As may be seen by the above statement, there is a considerable difference between the two: indeed, a *bukkáw* or buzzard sends you home only when it is seen for the first time, while a rat keeps you idle for a day whenever it makes an appearance.

There are a few other things of importance, which it is very useful for the Isneg to know.

For instance, if you happen to meet the spirit *Gabbuwá* on your way to work and he jumps out in front of you, you may be sure that you will become ill in the near future. Then it is up to you to take your precautions as soon as you come back home.

The influence of the spirit *Barôyan* is also very nefarious: should he accompany you on your way, you will be unable to perform anything worth while and your body will be aching all over; in some cases he has even caused people to become completely mad.

Never walk over the first plant or seed which you confided to the soil, whether it be rice or tobacco or anything else, because, if you are careless in this respect, not a single plant will grow in that particular field or garden of yours.

When you reach home, after having planted (*magmúla*, *mulán*) something, never take hold of a *báña* [18] in such a way as to insert your hand or your fingers (*magkuwál*). When it is absolutely necessary to take up a *báña*, be careful to touch it only at the outside, otherwise whatever you have planted will be consumed sooner or later by wild animals.

An Isneg who wants to become skilled in planting (*aragmúla*) must try as much as possible to observe what follows:

[18] An earthen jar used for cooking rice, etc.

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it; after a comparatively short time the hole will have become a well and, in some cases, even a small pond.

Now before I give a detailed account of the process of growing rice, I shall try to make clear a few things the knowledge of which is of paramount importance to every Isneg farmer.

This has to do with the *Pílăy* or *Ílăy*. Merely to say that they are the tutelary spirits of the palay would be putting it much too mildly, as will be seen presently. The *Pílăy* (in some places called *Ílăy*, in others known by both names) are spirits, some of them female, others male, and all of them young, in fact mere children, but they have a tremendous power either for good or for evil. Here are some names of *Pílăy*-spirits: *Aggăyén, Kano-nít, Darikokkó, Kópań, Rukkiná-, Lapindy, Dapindy, Ruppitá-, Alindodóăy*, etc. The latter is a female *Pílăy*, as she is said to carry palay on her head (*magtotón*), which is the way for women to carry loads; men carry theirs on their shoulders (*mańagtó*). These *Pílăy* will be mentioned over and over later on, but here I shall give their special characteristics, their habitat, a few general means for winning their favor, etc.

Although there are many of them, the *Pílăy* are never gregarious, and so it never happens that two of them are met together in one and the same spot: each of them keeps to his or her own place. Some of them protect the *kómăn*, others reside in granaries, and in every Isneg house a *Pílăy* takes his abode near the post of the house that is next to one of the four corners of the hearth, either at its base, just above the floor, or more especially on the *páza*, a shelf that is fixed over the hearth.

Pílăy (a term that also means "lame") is not the name of any of the ruling spirits, nevertheless he it is who guards your rice and punishes with lameness any stranger who dares touch a granary that does not belong to him, even though he does so without any malicious intent. Not only does *Pílăy* guard your palay, but he even causes it to increase, and, to accomplish this, he does not shrink from stealing rice for you from people who are not his votaries. One of these *Pílăy* rice thieves is called *Ruńád*. Whosoever is not able to walk, whosoever walks with difficulty, is supposed to have been struck by *Pílăy*, who punishes people not only for touching their neighbor's granary, but also for other acts that may be displeasing to him. Some of *Pílăy*'s victims are *madapindy*, one of their legs is shorter than the other; others are *pákań*, these can hardly walk and their pace is quite irregular; others again are *dapilán*, they crawl over the ground on their

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knees; and finally there are the *páñol*, who are expressly believed to have been punished by *Pílăy*, not for having trespassed on somebody else's property by touching palay which was not their own, but for having done something of which he does not approve: the *páñol* are unable to walk or almost so on account of their legs being swollen at the knees.

Whenever an Isneg prepares rice pudding or sweets made from *díkat*-rice, he never fails to give a share to the *Pílăy* who resides in the shelf over the hearth: usually a very small portion is sufficient. Should a shaman do the cooking and at the same time pronounce the following words:

"*Batbattuxám ni N.*" (Satiate N.), *Pílăy* will throw things (pebbles, etc.) at the boy or girl in question as soon as the sweets are being cut into pieces, and this will prove a blessing to the child, as, with *Pílăy's* help, it will be favored with an abundance of palay at the next harvest.

One of *Pílăy*'s assistants is the *agammáy, ag-agammáy* or *ugammáy*, a kind of mantis, which usually lives in rice fields, where it helps *Pílăy* increase the palay. These mantes thrive in full security as no Isneg would dare kill such valuable insects.

Here follow a few formulas of prayers that may profitably be addressed to the *Pílăy* at any time, provided they be accompanied with the offering of sweets, that are usually made from *díkat*-rice with the addition of sugar, coconut meat, etc.:

Ne uwámo pílăy séno batbattuxánnaami péyañ (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you be always satiating us).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta dímo pagtaitán de balbalásañ (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make the girls sick).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta tuplámmo ka ammáy dăyá ómānmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you fill our rice fields with rice).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta pannowámmo peyapéyañ dăyá álañmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you always fill our granaries).

Ne uwámo pílăy dínaami pagtaitán (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make us sick).

Ne uwámo pílăy aduwámmo ya ammáymi ya ómăñ se ya álañmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you increase our rice on our rice fields and in our granaries).

Ne uwámo pílăy dímo balbalsiánan dăyá tólăy no umáñ kiyá sixăy (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make the persons sick when they come to the hut [in the field]).

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Ne uwámo pílăy dímo as-assăyán dăyá ammáy dăyá isagaddán[19] (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not lessen the rice of the people).

Ne uwámo ílăy ta batbattuxánnă- (Here, this is yours, Ilay, so that you be satiating me).

The text of these formulas was given me by men from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch), the last one by *Lampá*, the others by *Púlog*.

Whatever I have said of the *Pílăy* so far applies to the majority of Apayaw villages. Nevertheless in a few agglomerations, the *Pílăy*, instead of being loved and invoked with religious awe, are loathed and execrated by the inhabitants, who do everything in their power to drive them away. This seeming anomaly may be easily accounted for in the following way. It has been said in a preceding paragraph that some *Pílăy* steal rice in order to increase the harvest of their devotees; consequently there must be somebody somewhere whom they are in the habit of robbing, and the victims can do nothing else, of course, but resent it tremendously. Therefore we find Isneg who use this or a similar ceremony in order to make the *Pílăy* decamp: they go to the bushes, near some tree, and, holding a receptacle for lime (*agapúxăn*) in one hand, they recite the following prayer. My informant, *Dagámi*, a Bayag woman (O dialect), gave it this title:

Makpídut Pílăy (To extract Pilay[20])

[19] *Púlog*, my informant, gave "people, men" as the meaning of *isagaddán*. According to most of my informants, *isagaddán* (never pronounced *isazaddán*) means: members of the Christian tribes, especially the Kagayan and the Iloko; while *ibańńán* means: natives, Isneg. In prayers, however, *isagaddán* mostly stands for "the people who offer a sacrifice, who pray, who seek protection from the spirits". Actually these terms are rarely or never used in ordinary conversation. Now, taking everything into consideration, I cannot help believing that originally the term *isagaddán* stood for something like "the faithful, those who pray, those who offer a sacrifice, the devout, the initiated, etc.", while *ibańńán* meant "the outsiders, those who are invited to a sacrifice, the uninitiated, etc.", and that later on the term *isagaddán* came to be applied to those tribes (Kagayan, Iloko) who were recognized by the Isneg as possessing a culture (perhaps) and a power (certainly) superior to their own, and the term *ibańńán* to themselves. With the advent of Christianity, these terms would then have become obsolete in ordinary speech, and the terms Ibanag (Christians) and Isneg would have taken their place. Even now the term Ibanag for "Christian" is becoming more and more obsolete: to the Isneg of the younger generation Ibanag means Kagayan, and the other Christian tribes are known by their own tribal name.

[20] *Pídut* usually means "extracting the sickness from someone's body". In Iloko *pídut* means "picking up".

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Umarăy-dyka[21] *iddí dyo wennó tańtáń ta pumánawkańin; no atán dín mańikkám a iddí magálitka ma-dín; kańka*[22] *tumáliyin kiyá- ńa nagganăyánmo* (Crawl on this tree or in this small calabash[23] so that you go away now; if somebody takes hold of[24] this you should move;[25] do not come back any more to me from whom you came).

Besides the *Pílăy* and some other spirits, which will be accounted for in due time, there are three more protectors of the rice fields in general, namely: *Maxammám*, who helps to guard the *kómăn*, *A-néb* and *Parráy*. The last usually resides in the rice field, but he follows the Isneg into his hut (in the field) whenever it rains, and, if his protection is duly acknowledged, he never fails to lend a helping hand to the reapers, so that their exertions may be crowned with success. *A-néb* is a spirit who lives at the edge of the rice field; his influence depends on the attention that is paid to him by the owner of the field in question.

Pokól from Bayag (O dialect) furnished me with the following prayer addressed to the spirits who reside in the *kómăn*. While it is recited, rice should be thrown into the field:

Ne ma- maggiyán ki lusá- ta ma-mágăn (Here then, the one who resides in the soil, so that it become good).

Not all spirits, however, are well intentioned; a good many of them are malevolent imps who, if left unmolested, bring nothing but harm to the rice fields in which they have taken their abode.

Again I am indebted to *Dagámi* from Bayag for the text of a kind of exorcism used to drive away evil spirits from the *kómăn*. She prefaced it:

Maggiyán ka ómăn (Those who reside in the rice field).

Daxăyó maggiyán iyá ómăn ńa aníto maglińádkăyo (You, spirits who reside in the rice field, hide).

Up till now I have only given a few general hints to the Isneg farmer in order to help him in the raising of a good crop of rice. From now on I shall explain in detail how he has to proceed, beginning

[21] The initial U is scarcely audible.

[22] Shortened for *bakkáńka*.

[23] Used for storing lime.

[24] In ordinary speech *mańikkám* means "to get the *ikkám*", the amount of rice harvested in one day; here its meaning is much less restricted.

[25] Towards him, leaving me.

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243 The third day, or the next day after the enforced idleness just mentioned, is called *sarsár*. Now the Isneg *manarsár*, which means that he begins work in earnest, starting for his field early in the morning.

The farmer begins clearing his field at the lower edge (*atád*), near the *tálon*, or small patch cleared two days previously, and gradually climbs up the slope, until he reaches the upper edge (*arpád*). Should the field be level, the Isneg call this work *maxónut* instead of *mañumá*. While cutting the grasses, he causes them to fall to the left or to the right, but always backwards, that is toward the *atád* or lower edge, so that they will not interfere with his subsequent work. All large trees are left standing, nothing is torn down but what can be cut either at one stroke of the hatchet (*magtaggád, taggadán*), or at least with little difficulty, so as not to hinder considerably the progress of the work. Usually in this kind of work the Isneg has two hatchets in his possession, the second one or *takám* being used in case the first one becomes dull.

[776] The spirit that is to be feared more than any other at this time of the year, is *Pagpaxasápat*, a killer of men at the time of the *mañumá*.

An accident that may easily befall the Isneg at this juncture is the snapping of the helve of his *aliwá* at its junction with the blade, inside the iron ring or *palábo*. In this case the wielder of the hatchet is said to *magpañúd* and the hatchet itself is *napñudán*. Should such a catastrophe (and it is no exaggeration to call it by that name) occur on the day of the *sarsár*, the farmer is obliged to abandon the whole business and begin all over again, going in search of another field, observing the omen, cutting the *tálon* or first patch, *xumowáñ* or resting the next day, and so on. But this is not obligatory if the same accident happens on some other day after the *sarsár*, and not without reason: otherwise he might be obliged to clear fields until doomsday, as the helve of an Isneg hatchet, if used more or less carelessly, is apt to break very easily at this point, the thinned fork of the helve being very brittle at the place where the iron tang is fixed into it. This also may be a practical reason for leaving comparatively large trees intact for the time being.

243 824 When clearing a patch of ground that has been left untouched for several years, the Isneg is liable to come across all kinds of plants. Whereas his principal aim is to make the work progress as quickly and smoothly as possible, and to cut down whatever comes in his way, the

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the cutting of its branches, not the felling of the whole tree, is tabooed in the *kómān*.

The spirits whom the farmer has to fear at this time of the year, are *Dalípunáw* and his aid *Agpáw*, who are intent on killing people at the time of the *tádaw*.

Should the Isneg know of a tree where the spirit *Pinańgáw* has taken his abode, he must skip it and leave it intact; besides, even though he tried to lop (*magtádaw*) it, he would never be able to do so.

Anything that is left untouched, not cut, for any kind of reason, is called *pinuró-*. To leave any kind of plant standing in the *kómān* is *purokán*.

Almost immediately following the *tádaw*, we have the *maggańát*, also a man's job. This consists in cutting up the trunks of small trees and the large boughs that are strewn all over the field after the *tádaw*.

And now, at the first opportunity, the Isneg burns his field, *manidúg* or *sumi-dúg*. This of course mostly depends on the weather, because, if the grasses and canes are not thoroughly dry, they will hardly catch fire, and if the wind does not blow from the right direction, it is no use trying to start a blaze. Indeed, the fire is always started at the lower end of the *kómān*, after which helped by the wind it creeps up the mountain slope devouring everything in its wake, and scorching (without destroying) all the neighboring parts of the forest and bushes, including the *naglatán* (or boundary of untouched bushes between two contiguous fields) mentioned before.

It is really an awe-inspiring and never-to-be-forgotten spectacle, when all around, as far as the eye can reach, the mountain slopes are converted into huge bonfires. At every gust of wind and whenever the flames have met some fresh heap of fuel more especially ready for the conflagration, the whole valley is filled with a crepitating and roaring noise intermittently brought to a climax by loud reports of bursting bamboos.

It is useless to say that this work, which again is a man's job, has to be planned and executed with the utmost care, not only to insure the best results, but also to prevent the burning of houses, granaries, orchards, gardens, etc., lest, besides bringing a blessing to the future rice field, it happen to be a curse to the neighbors and to the owner himself, who must repay his countrymen for all the damages wrought through his carelessness. Such a danger, however, is rather remote, as Apayaw is sparsely inhabited and the Isneg is usually an expert in the choice of a well-located field and in everything that pertains to

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its preparation. In case he were not, he would be wise enough to invoke the help and counsel of other men, who are always willing to offer their services in this respect.

But I believe I am anticipating, and so let us begin with the beginning. The *tarimmatón* or sign for the *si-dúg* or burning of the fields is the *lumbá-*, a tree mentioned before, when it is covered with fruits. This generally happens in April or, at the earliest, about the end of March.

Should it happen that one of the trees that were left standing in the *kómān*, is inhabited by *Danág*-spirits, the Isneg, before beginning to burn his field, goes and looks for a *bátań*, a kind of rather large bracket fungus in the shape of an ear, very hard and not edible, that grows on trees. This he hangs somewhere in the tree inhabited by the *Danág* in question, with the inevitable result that the latter get frightened and either decamp or, at least, leave the owner in peace.

Before applying the torch, the Isneg pronounces the word *sílām* so that all canes and branches be nicely burnt and there remain as little residue as possible. If he fails to pronounce this magic term, he might have to spend several days in gathering and burning the remainder of the rubbish.

Let us now make the acquaintance of a spirit who is a big help to a farmer in possession of a field under clearance. His name is *Alipugpúg* and he occasionally shows his presence in the *kómān* in the shape of a little whirl of wind or eddy (which is also the meaning of his name), that causes leaves and small twigs to whirl around. If he is seen playing in the rice field at any time after the *si-dúg* or burning, this presages a lusty and robust growth of plants. Never forget though that the day following the appearance of this favorable omen must be kept as a holiday: you must stay at home and stop all work, whether you be man or woman.

In case *Alipugpúg* shows himself immediately after the burning of the field, with the fresh ashes turning in a circle, go immediately to meet him and get some of the whirling ashes, applying them to your forehead, as a prophylactic against the headache. Then, on the next day, observe the customary holiday.

And now the Isneg farmer may contemplate with pride the result of his exertions. The field is almost ready for the women to start their work: nothing remains but a few dry half-burnt sticks scattered all around, a few heaps of partly consumed canes of bamboo grass, and

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243 *gaúén daáyó maggiyán ki sirát* (I plant you so that you shoot up,
722 you bear fruit, you be lasting long; you who reside on the earth, so that you have no reason to destroy [20] my plants; go away, you who reside near our plants; do not give us a fever, you who reside in the bushes).

243 In the evening of the day of the *agalópal*, the woman, owner of the
784 field, *magsima*, which means that she is not allowed to give away anything from the house, not even a leaf of tobacco, and that she may not permit anybody to enter the house. The next morning, however, these prohibitions cease, but at the same time this day has to be kept as a holiday (*áilin*). The real work of planting begins only on the third day, after which planting is done unremittingly until the end.

If the planter is accompanied by children, these should be warned not to shout in or about the field on account of the spirit *Paranánay*, who has taken his abode at the outskirts of the *kóman* ever since the burning of the field, and who stays there until the *tognó* is finished.

243 While planting is going on or, at the latest, immediately after it is
442 finished, the Isneg cut out again the young shoots of bamboo grass
770 that have sprung up in the meanwhile: this plant has a very tough resistance and is subdued by the farmer only after many exertions. To cut out isolated shoots of *bassáw* or bamboo grass, is *magsílsil*; if they grow in clusters, to cut them out is *magtappíl*, and this is much more thorough than *magsílsil*, as the roots are taken out as well as the rest. Both men and women perform this job, the first using their *aliwá* or hatchet, the latter their *paló-* or hoe.

At the time of planting one must especially beware of an evil spirit called *Bibirítan*, who roams around to kill people during the *agtotognó*. About the same time also reigns *Bakákaw* (which is also the name of a bird mentioned before), a spirit who is always carrying a heavy load of *agkuláw* or rice straw (from which rice has been shelled).

Later on, when the paddy has been sprouting all over the field, the woman goes to see if there are any voids in the rows, and if she sees that shoots are lacking here and there, she goes home and prepares for a communication with the spirits (*maxanito*). If she is a shaman, she does it by herself; if not, she calls a *dorarákit* (shaman) for the purpose. After this she goes to the field and fills up the gaps: this is called *magtagnáp*.

243 In the meanwhile the men also are busy, and between the *si-dúg*

[20] Literally: to cut off, to rub off.

1 [i.e., first planting -- Analyst]

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825 The *pāyakán*, a kind of winged ant, that builds its nest preferably in clusters of young bamboo grass. This insect is edible, and even considered as a dainty by the majority of the Isneg.

The *ag-agammáy*, a kind of mantis, mentioned before. If you get hold of it at the time of the *ballát*, take its neck between your fingers, turn it with the legs upwards, and say: "*Pixá ya ammáy-o* (How much palay will I have?)." If it moves one leg, it means *mṓpo* (one hundred *ísiń*-bundles); if two legs, *duwá ńṓpo* (two hundred bundles); if it moves all its legs, it means *annám ńṓpo* (six hundred bundles). One hundred *ńṓpo* is *matúńal* (ten thousand bundles).

776 At this time of the year one should beware of the spirit *Dalánap*, who kills people during the *agbablát* (weeding time).

243 789 As soon as the weeding is over, place some *ibasán* in your field, so that the paddy grow up into sturdy and robust stalks. The *ibasán* is a kind of grass that resembles the sugar cane, but yields no sugar, and grows in abundance all over the district.

After that make a minute inspection of the whole field, and cut down all weeds that may have been overlooked. This second cleaning is called *manábal*, a term also used to mean "putting the finishing touch to the *umá* (clearing the ground)", as has been mentioned before.

The *agbablát* (weeding time) is followed by the *dawdáwat*, when people occupy themselves with the weaving of baskets (*magláza*). Although this business may be accomplished at any time of the year, nevertheless the period that elapses between the *agbablát* and reaping time, is the most suitable, and consequently it has been set aside by custom for that kind of work, and it has been given a special name: *dawdáwat* or *aglaláza*.

All through the *dawdáwat* a diligent Isneg does not fail to *magso-báń* (a term never used for the same kind of work done before weeding time) or go and see if perchance some palay has been harmed through one cause or another. Indeed from now on everything depends on the vigilance of the farmer, as a legion of enemies are ready to pounce upon the field, especially at the time the ears begin to form. But let us not anticipate.

When the paddy is about half grown, it is advisable to place some *apniyán kapónān* in the field, in order to cause the rice to reach its full height quickly and also to keep away harmful insects. The *apniyán kapónān* is a kind of rattan whose bark is reddish and whose leaves are very white underneath.

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243 The text of this prayer was given me by *Bāydán* from Tawit (O 782 dialect, Main branch).

Before finishing this subject, allow me to warn you against the spirit 776 *Darantán*, who throws stones at people who emit a shout when reaping time approaches.

4. HARVESTING RICE AND STORING IN BARNS

243 The Isneg reap their rice (*maggáni*) some time in November or December. The terms *záni, zaniyán, maggáni*, are used exclusively for harvesting rice.

There is no special *taximmatón* or sign for harvesting time (*aggazáni*), as everything depends on the ripening palay, and this can be examined in the field without the help of other indications. Nevertheless it is said by the Isneg that reaping time in general begins with the appearance of the *papparazdy*[38] or fruit of the *tabbág*-tree (a species of Ficus with fruits growing on the stem and the main branches), but this is only a very vague indication of the time for beginning the harvest, as the fields are not all ready at the same time, so that each particular *kóman* has to be inspected by itself.

243 Reaping, like planting and weeding, is a woman's job. In other 462 parts of the Mountain Province, the men, although much less dexterous than the women, do not scorn to help the latter in this all-important work; but, in Apayaw, no Isneg worth the name would deign to enter the field with his wife and the girls in order to cut down a single ear of rice.

243 The reaper cuts off each ear of palay separately with the help of her *ikó*-knife, held in her right hand, and gathers the ears in her left hand, as many as she can clasp. When the cannot grasp any more, she binds (*magbattá-* or *mamtá-*) them into a small bundle (*battá-*) and throws the latter behind her on the ground. The culm is cut some five inches below the neck or junction of ear and stalk: the part of the culm that remains attached to the ear is called *ákaw*, the rest is the *daxámi* (called *daxádag*, as long as it remains on the field).

There are always several women working together; if there are not enough girls in the family, some of the neighbors come to the rescue. The reapers stand in a row, not very far apart from one another, and go on straight ahead. Behind them the bundles of palay are lying

[38] Children use it for a toy by piercing it with a wooden pin and making it spin like a top.

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Takkág líńān or *kaddát líńān* or *kaddát ińóto* (literally: takkag or herb of the spirit Lingan, of the spirit Ingato): A kind of scandent vine, resembling the *takkág*, but with smaller leaves, found in rice fields long since abandoned. 243 789

Tallá: A low herb, growing all over the district.

Tańtáń líńān (literally: Lingan's calabash for storing lime): A kind of fungus consisting in a white ball supported by a stipe, and parasitic on the stem of other plants.

Turátud: A kind of herb, some six inches tall, with very narrow leaves about two inches long, growing in rocky places.

Before going to the field to start reaping palay, the women have to *magdaán*, that is, to prepare everything the men need at home: they pound enough rice to last them until the end of the harvest, they gather vegetables for viands, leaves to be used for plates, etc., so that the men will have nothing to do but to cook for themselves and for their families, no real cooking being done in the *sízăy*-hut. 243 462

Here follow the names of most of the spirits who come around at this time of the year:[1] 776 782

Abád: Helps the reapers.

Abalád: *Inapúzān* (betel for chewing) is offered to him.

Aglalannawán: Helps the reapers.

Alipuńdán: Causes the reapers' toes to get sore all over and swell.

Ańáp: Kills people at the time of the harvest.

Ańát: A female spirit helping the reapers. If the women dream about her at night, they will offer her *inapúzān* in the *sízăy*-hut the next day.

Ańrizád: Increases the palay. Women often dream about him; when they do, he tells them that they will reap nothing, but they know that it is just the contrary.

Arúriń: When the Isneg take their meals, if they fail to give this female spirit a share, they will not harvest anything.

Babalasińnúd: Lives in the *sízăy*-hut.

Bannít: Is angered by the failure of the Isneg to sacrifice a pig at the beginning of the harvest, in which case little rice is raised.

Binu-sílān: Helps the reapers.

Bońós: Is invoked by the shaman and comes at the sacrifice that takes place before the harvest.

Dagdagamiyán (Bayag pronunciation): A female spirit who makes children sick who play where people are busy harvesting.

Dalimán: *Inapúzān* is offered to him, lest he come near.

[1] [i.e. harvest time, in December. --Analyst]

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Daramiām: Food is offered to him, by being thrown out through the door, at every meal that is taken in the *sixāy*.

Darupāypāy: Consumes the palay that has been placed in the *sixāy*, before it is transferred to the granary.

Dawilíyān: Helps the reapers.

Dékat: Accompanies the reapers.

Doruwáñaw: *Inapúxān* is offered to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Dumińxiw: Accompanies the reapers, increasing the palay.

Duwaxáw: Resides in the rice field.

The *ibańibāń*-spirits: Are invited by the Isneg to accompany them, when they go harvesting.

The *ilāńit*-spirits (literally: inhabiting the sky): Help the reapers.

Imbáñon: Helps the reapers.

Inarxāy: Kills people at the time of the harvest. The following prayer is recited, when *inapúxān* is offered to *Inarxāy*. The text was given me by *Daxidí* from Baliwanan (O dialect, Main branch).

Iápugko iyáw inarxāy ta dinaami patpatāy (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Inargay, so that you do not kill us).

Irixí: Accompanies the reapers, stays in the *sixāy* with them, goes home with them. Whenever the Isneg take a meal in the *sixāy*, as long as the harvest lasts, they offer him rice and viands, by placing them on a plate in the doorway.

Ximbańónān: Helps the reapers. The following two prayers addressed to *Ximbańónān*:

One called *maglappá-*, "to offer food, etc., to the spirits", contributed by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch):

Ne uwámo ximbańónān umáńnakami sissímān kiyá dannì xidxídam (Here, this is yours, Gimbangonan, come to espy us at the fall of the day).

One called *ap-ápug*, with offering of *inapúxān*, contributed by *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch):

Iápugko ikáw ximbańónān bumáńon nam āy mańāń ta umadāyyóka (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Gimbangonan, arising but eating,[40] so that you go away).[41]

Xinālińān: Helps the reapers.

[40] Who eat whenever you arise.

[41] According to the majority of my informants, *Daxidí*, *Yadán*, etc., Gimbangonan favors the reapers.

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Xinuádan: Is driven away at the beginning of the harvest, lest he come to measure the receptacles for palay, and the latter dwindle.

Magkáwăy: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him.

Magwáñag: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him.

Nappiyá: Spirits living in the rice field.

Palpálad: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him.

Pundy: Resembles a bird. *Inapúxăn* is offered to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Sían: A companion of Pilay, at the time of the harvest.

Sibo: A good spirit; always accompanies the women when they are reaping, rain or sunshine.

Sildádo (from the Spanish *soldado*, "soldier"): Spirits resembling horses. If children play boisterously near the house, these spirits will cause the death of one of them.

Sipa: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him in the rice field, on the first day of the harvest.

Sipút: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him, on top of the house ladder, at the beginning of the harvest.

Taxokó: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him.

A nameless female spirit living at the *Nanánan* brook, behind the mountains, on the opposite bank of the Apayaw river from Bayag. She counts the palay while wearing a raincoat; as soon as she is approached by any of the people who live there, she disappears.

When everything is in readiness, the Isneg proceed in the following way.

First of all, a pig is sacrificed, while a *dorarákit* or shaman *maxaníto*, "communicates with the spirits". During this ceremony, a leaf of the betel (*xawád*) is torn up and one of its shreds, called *binurián*, is placed near the hearth. One of the animal's legs (*lótub*) is placed in a small *báña* (earthen pot used for cooking rice, etc.), and the latter is put down on the floor of the granary (*álañ*).

The following prayer, whose text was given me by *Uwíl* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch), is one of those that are recited during this sacrifice. The spirit is supposed to pronounce the words through the mouth of the shaman.

Mapáñko pĕ ya dordorerĕmăn yo maggiyán kadăyó isagaddán,[42] *ta*

[42] Cf. footnote 19 supra. I think that the following free translation of this prayer comes very near to the meaning intended by the Isneg: I come to take my abode amongst you, my faithful people, lest you be bewitched by the other spirits (or: by the Christians).

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251 Young banana leaves (*adón*) are used very extensively for wrapping
245 purposes, especially when things have to be kept fresh, for instance cooked rice, several kinds of viands, etc.

The men cut down (*lappadán, maglappád*) the leaves with the *alíwá* (hatchet) and gather (*manaxidón*) them.

Dry banana leaves (*arupát*) are used for wrapping all kinds of small objects.

245 A banana plantation where the leaves are all withered, is supposed
776 to be the abode of the spirit *Alčxăn*. For the rest, no harm is done, as she never attempts to destroy the fruits.

6. YAMS

244 The origin of yams or *úbi* (Dioscorea alata, L., D. pentaphylla, L.,
773 etc.) is authenticated among the Isneg by the following stories:
539 *Uwil* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch) told me this:
824

Ya nonōnná ńa úbi

The first yam

Kitó inumbét daté dódon kiddí ité nōnná ńa alxáw ăwánda kanó ńa anán daté tólăy ta amminán daté dódon./ Kané ăwánda ńa anán kité mammínda ńa natáy ináru-da ya anánă-da séda ńa anún ăy imúlada te tabbit naté ababbíń./ Ay te ya nagbalín ka úbi te ya nonōnná ńa úbi.

When the locusts came here in former days, the people, it is said, had nothing to eat, as the locusts consumed everything./ And when they had nothing to eat, so they would all be dead, they took out a part of their children's bodies, and they ate it, and they planted the flesh of the child./ And that became a yam: that is the first yam.

Another man related to me a similar story with reference to the *paddig*-yam: it is very large, and its skin is very red; it looks as if it were bleeding. On a certain day, a mother took her babe as soon as it was born and cut it into pieces, which she buried in the ground. After a while they grew, and when the woman dug them up, they had become *paddig*-yams. She cooked them, ate them, and found them to be a savory kind of food.

A different story is woven around the *dinampăyán*, a kind of *lo-tó* (Dioscorea fasciculata, Roxb. and D. aculeata, L.). The *lo-tó* are small yams, whose meat is yellowish or white and very soft; their skin is thin and whitish or brown, and is easily peeled off when cooked; their vines and leaves are thorny. Formerly all *lo-tó* were soft

to pay heavy indemnities to the relatives of the injured husband. When the husband is so inclined, he may take one or more wives, provided that he is wealthy enough to support them. However, the wife controls in marriage, her own inherited property.

When the husband dies, the woman retains only her clothing and returns to her relatives. All the property is divided equally among the children. If they are young, the man's relatives take and raise them, keeping the property in trust. Upon marriage each child receives his share.

RELIGION

The Apayao name for a god is "*anito.*" Now, it is hard for anyone to explain how all the "acts of God" are the activity of one single personality; as some "acts" are benevolent and others are malevolent. The Apayaos believe that different "acts" are the doings of differents *anitos*, some benevolent and others malevolent. Natural phenomena are explained as being the work of some *anito*. Each occurrence or activity of a person is governed by some certain *anito*. Therefore they may number up into the thousands. Thus one is constantly aware of his relations with the *anitos*, and the Apayao is very religious. For instance if he is setting a trap for wild pig in the forest, he will ask one *anito* to forgive him for trying to trap the pig; another *anito* to let the pig be guided into the trap; and another *anito* that the trap will spring and catch the pig.

Many *anitos* live in natural objects; but the most prominent ones dwlel in *Guynetban* in the sky. Each

776 one has his separate place there. They now speak a
772 different dialect (called *Elangit*) from the people, which only a priestess, *surraroqueb* can understand.

776 The head *anito*, who made the laws of the sky world and rules it, is *Hatan*. He dwells in *Naglasian* in a great miraculous palace guarded by an enormous snake. He has an automatic *gaod* which strikes as he wills. His shield shoots out fire (a flame thrower), and his spear kills nine men at a time. He uses fierce beasts to help in war and thus has conquered all the country. His wife, *Dinawagan*, came from *Nagcapaslunam*, which is still another world. These two are asked for help in time of need, especially in sickness.

Some time ago *Hatan* became infirm due to age, and so he endued his fourth son, *Ewagan* with his powers. This *anito* lived in *Aguingan* and got his wife in *Dudungan*. Her name is *Hinobangonan* and her father is *Cowatingconan*, while her mother is *Agdamgasam*.

Ewagan is the most notable of the *anitos* and is looked upon as a savior of the people. He has often helped them and is called upon in times of calamity, such as sickness. His only sister, *Hinalingan*, is his close companion. His older brothers are: *Dipparo*, *Haswan* and *Hinadolan* (nicknamed *Enoy*), who eats the hearts of the enemy. Ewagan's younger brothers are *Abbiawan* and *Imlang* (nicknamed *Egatang*). Whenever Imlang dances, everybody dances, even the trees. Ewagan married *Guimbangonan*, who had been contracted to *Dungcuan*, son of a certain *maingel* named Dingpan.

Ewagan is very handsome, shining like a flame. 776
A great bird, *Gabilayan*, carried him through the sky. He has great strength and has magical powers. He can cross a river without a boat and can change his body into a pig. There are many stories told of his fighting, hunting, fishing, and farming.

At one time when the sky was very near, Ewagan 773
lived on earth. He built a house for the poor and 821
made a kaiñgin for the blind and lame who could not work. He showed the people how to make *aliwas* and build good houses. In order that the people might more easily reach the sky, Ewagan planned to build a high tower. He called all the people together and held a big meeting; but the people from the different *barangays* had different dialects and could not understand orders. So he had to drop the project and send the people home. However, he did take the people 491
in his own *barangay* and built a great bridge across the Apayao River at Lucban. You can still see the stone posts of the ancient bridge standing there.

Ewagan stayed for some time on earth; but one night *Hasatan* came to him in a dream, and persuaded him to become an *anito* in the sky world, so that he would never become tired. At the same time, he could help the people just as well and cure them of their ills. Ewagan agreed and Hasatan used his magical powers to change Ewagan into an *anito* in the sky world.

At first, the sky was so very low that the trees could not grow very high, and the strongest of them grew right into the sky. But one day a woman was pounding rice and she raised her pestle so high that

773 it struck the sky. The sky became frightened and
821 raised up, causing a great commotion, and the trees were torn out of the ground.

776 To the family of Hatan, I will add the names of
[771] some other *anitos*. The tendency is for them to lessen in scope, in number, and in interest (i.e.—toward monagony). First I will mention some good *anitos*.

776 *Kaybacan* is the guardian of the house. A feast,
537 *pildap*, is given to him upon completion of a new house.
342 Small spears are placed there in the house where he stays. Whenever there is meat, a small portion is placed on the spears. Otherwise the family will get
[784] sick. No eels, deer, or mud fish are brought into the house; for the *anito* dislikes their smell and would run away, leaving the family to sicken and die.

776 *Pilay* is the guardian of the farm. He lives in
241 the granary. If a stranger touches it, he becomes lame. A small feast, *pespes*, is given to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Ambungan is the guardian of the rice harvest. Before harvest one must mix some burnt rice with shredded coconut and eat it under a certain big tree
[821] where he is. If the owner does not do this, strong winds and rain will come and blow down the grain.

776 *Danag* is the guardian of the fishermen and hunters; while *Ayan* induces the wild pig to run into the trap; but *Siwasion* helps the wild pig and deer to avoid the hunters.

Dagwan makes one strong to work, and *Mangla-bang* is the guardian of the warrior; while *Panuga-tang* is the guide. *Sangasan* guards the entrance to the *barangay*.

Ewagan, *Timalingan*, *Banwaran*, and *Diaban* are called upon in time of sickness, and *Barangseo* helps one to run away if some enemy is trying to kill him, while *Anglabang* will help him kill his enemy. *Lecay* kills other *anitos*. 776

Among the evil *anitos Pungal* is best known and most feared. He causes sickness and death. People always obey him. *Ademat* also gives a fatal illness; while *Kapunan* gives sudden death by hemorrhage. *Anguan* hunts men with dogs and gives one a headache from which he may die. *Dangquico*, *Makel*, and *Kilang* move the winds that kill instantly. 776 753 [82]

Kakayan teaches and tempts people to do evil, and *Anlabbang* causes quarrels; while *Duman* steals beads. *Darantan* lives in the river and is the one who makes a person drown. *Aliang* lives along the streams and entices small children away. Occasionally one see his peculiar foor prints in the sand. *Wirwer* digs up the dead corpse and eats it. 776

There are also various ghosts, giants, and fairies. *Balongobangs* are evil revivals of the dead corpses who cannot bend their legs. They catch people and tear them to bits. One can tell them at night by their nauseous bad odor. Then is the time to run away from that place quicker than possible.

The *Gaggag* are giants who live in the forest and can make themselves into animals. If one even says their name, they will rush out and kill him. They have green blood in their bodies and red blood is only in their heads. So one must hit a *Gaggag* in the head in order to kill him.

776 [824] The *Danag* live in trees and act like fairies. If a tree is cut down and it does not fall, a *Danag* inhabits that tree. *Danags* enjoy playing practical jokes. If something awkard happens on the way, a *Danag* did it. Or sometimes, when some priestess is calling her *anito*, a *Danag* will show up instead.

782 The usual method used to gain the favor or help of an anito is to give him a feast. This may vary in name, size, details, and extent, according to the occa-
796 sion and wealth of the party who gives the feast. The
574 general procedure; however, at a feast is about as follows:

[791] The relatives and family giving the feast gather in the house one evening while the priestess, *durarakit*, performs a ceremony in which she calls the suitable *anito* and invites it to enjoy the feast. She spreads a mat near the door, places on it a bundle of unthreshed rice, some *buyo*, with possibly other articles, and ties a small chicken near by. The priestess stands on the mat and, to the cadence of the drum and bronze gongs, side shuffles her feet and waves her extended arms, at the same time calling in an old chant for the *anito* to come to the feast. In a few minutes her eyes dilate and she begins to tremble in a trance. The *anito* has come. She continues talking to it, telling it to be happy and to please help as desired. After a while she comes out of her trance and starts placing *buyo* with leaves and lime, together with grass bundles, on the jars of *basi* and on the animals which are to be killed. (Dogs and pigs are eaten only at feasts.) The *durarakit* performs this that there may be peace at the feast.

536 is rather monotonous and at other times becomes excitingly thrilling, according to the drift of the story.

538 In order to follow the tune, the narrator will often
522 draw out the end of some words or maybe add meaningless syllables. There are many repetitions of action and thought, as well as inconsequential happenings. Incongruities of action and sudden transitions of scene often occur. Once in awhile the narrative is broken by some ludicrous incident just as you have clowning in a drama. The greater pleasure is not so much in following the development of the plot of the story as it is in the delightful manner of the telling. Yet the plot is interesting, being often based on some
513 practical joke. Listening to such a story is really a very happy way to spend an otherwise dull time. Sometimes the people stay up all night and listen to them.

126 However, if one wrote down every syllable which the story teller uttered in narrating one story, he would have a book which very few people would care to read. Therefore most of the folk tales in this little collection are written in the short way. With some, the popular dialect used (sometimes ungrammatically) is also given. The English following is a free translation. Sometimes two versions of a story are given.

121 Some students make distinction between myths
538 and folktales. But the people have only one name,
773 *adodit*, for both; and as a matter of fact, there are
776 few folktales which do not have a religious element. In the early days the main distinction between *anitos* and men was that they lived in a different place: the only physical difference being that the female *anitos* had only one breast which was in the center of their

bosoms. It was possible for an *anito* to be a man or for a man to become an anito. If the people make so little distinction between gods and men, why should I? 121 538 773 776

Anyhow, here are some of the Apayao tales.

She chewed betel nut and threw it out of the window praying: "Some of you will turn into fat pigs and other animals so that there will be many animals for the feast." 842 [789]

The people came to the feast and marveled at the wonderful house which was constructed better than any man could fashion it. The two brothers and the sister made a generous agreement and explained to all the people how the woman became pregnant and that the boy was really the son of Enoy. They were all satisfied.

BEBEROCA

Beberoca was a *anito* who could change himself at will, and he ate people. One day he found many people fishing in the river. He suggested to the people: "You do not have to work hard to make that dam to turn the river. Just stop and I will lie down and be the dam." The people were pleased and got to one side. Beberoca lay down so that the water was turned aside, and the people picked up many fish. For several hours he lay there. But suddenly a crab bit him on the head. It startled him so that he jumped up. The water came on the people, and they were all drowned and were washed away down the stream. 776

Since he got no people there, he went on up stream. While on his way, Beberoca met several women and asked them: "Why are you fishing like that? It is too hard. I will help you." The women were glad and Beberoca lay down. The water became less and less. The women took many fish. After several hours, a crab bit Beberoca on the back; so he yelled:

"What is biting me?" and jumped up. The water rushed down and swept the women down stream.

Therefore Beberoca continued on up stream until he came to some men fishing with a net. "Stop fishing with that net, men; I will help you," he ordered. The men willingly accepted and Beberoca lay down. As the river backed up and became deeper, Beberoca kept making himself correspondingly bigger and bigger. He aimed to let the men catch all the fish and then he would catch all the men. As they were becoming very tired, a crab bit one of the men on the foot and said: "Beberoca is going to kill an deat you, but I will help you to get out." The men were glad and waited. The crab bit the man again, saying: "Follow me and try the hole which I am making" The man drove down; but the hole was too small. The crab said: "You go back and wait until I make it bigger." So the man did. Then the crab met an eel and asked him to help make the hole larger. "All right," said the eel. It helped the crab to make the hole bigger. The crab then went and bit three more men, saying: "You follow the frog to the bank. Then the frog will make tracks down stream; but you go up stream." The people followed the crab through the hole, climbed out on the bank, and went up stream. The crab stayed there on the bank.

Beberoca noticed that the water was not rising and discovered the hole which let it out. So he jumped up and found the people were gone. He looked for them and found the foot prints of the frog, which he followed. As the frog continued ahead down stream, it met groups of people to whom it said: "People

people, run away from the river or Beberoca will eat you. They ran away. 776

The frog came to a woman and said: "Woman, woman, run away from the river or Beberoca will eat you." But the woman replied: "No, no, he will not eat me. I will stay here." She stayed until Beberoca came. He said: "I will eat you, because I am hungry." The woman agreed. "All right, go ahead." But she kept her small *aliwa* tied in her hair. Beberoca swallowed her whole at one gulp and then went home. He asked the people to treat him for his stomach ache, as it hurt. The people met a woman and called her to the house. The excreta of Beberoca were very bloody, for the woman whom he had swallowed was cutting him up inside. He could neither stand up nor lie down, nor sit comfortably until the woman should come out of his stomach.

The woman cut a hole in the stomach of Beberoca and came out. But at the same time Beberoca died.

HOW BOWA BECAME A DREADFUL ANITO

A long time ago in the *barangay* of Pagsan, there lived a man by the name of Boquet. He was married there in his settlement to one of his distant relatives.

During their married life they had only one baby, a boy. The parents loved their only child very much. In those days clothing was rare, and it was only in Ilocos that one could secure clothing by way of barter. It so happened that they wanted some clothing for

77 their child. The people at that time[1] were wearing
[173] the bark of trees for clothing.

The father planned for a trip to Ilocos, taking with him dried fish to barter for some cloth for his son. He told his wife to take good care of their child while he was gone. Then the next day he started for Ilocos with the dried fish. It took him six days to barter his fish for cloth. One day, after he had left his home, his child became sick and, after two days
[173] of illness died. There were no means of communication during those days. So his wife decided not to bury the child until the father arrived. When the dead child had been in the house for two days, the mother could not stand the bad odor which came from the child. At last they decided to bury the child. The mother saved a jar of fluid from the child to prove to her husband that their only child had passed away.

The next day after the burial of the child, Boquet returned home. He at once inquired where their child was; and the grieving wife told him that their child had been buried the day before. To prove it she brought the jar of fluid from the child and the jar of *basi* that they had used during the day when the child was still in the house.

The father was filled with deep sadness and promptly took the two jars and drank their contents. He told his wife that she would never see him any more. He ran out and climbed up a betel-nut tree and came down again. He turned to his wife again and said, "Never look for me any more. I shall eat all dead human people." He ran away to the forest and became an *anito* named Bowa. From that time

1 [i.e., long ago -- Analyst]

Bowa has always been getting dead human beings from graves for his food. 776

WIR-WER TAKES A MATE

The *anito* Wir-wer goes everywhere spending his time looking for the dead. Wir-wer lives on dead bodies which he digs out of the ground, excavating the graves of dead people. Limbobia is his wife. If there is a dead person, the priests call this *anito*, placating him so that he will not eat the corpse. [764]

A long time ago in Marágat all the children were on the ground after supper playing hide and seek in the dark. One small girl was playing, holding a firebrand. Wir-wer swooped down, grabbed her, and took her into the air. The girl cried, "Mother! Help!!" Wir-wer went through the air very fast to his house in the air. The mother, almost crazy, followed below just as fast. Wir-wer's house was a big cave full of valuable properties taken from graves of dead persons. It was in the forest, in Mount Anag. The mother was there when Wir-wer said: "You must give me beads". "Why do you want my daughter", she scolded. "To stay in my house," Wirwer replied. It was arranged that Wirwer should give her many beads for her daughter. She returned home loaded with so many beads that she could hardly carry them. He also gave her the seedings of the rice called *dumalay;* which most of the people now raise. It ordinarily takes about three days for a person to go from home of Wirwer to Maragat; but the woman made it in only a few hours. 583 776

in the ordinary ground until it comes to a wide river which it cannot cross alone. 304 775

However, at the river the *cadudorsa* meets a ferryman whose name is Kutao. Before taking the *cadudorsa* across, Kutao must first inspect it to see if its appearance is right. He looks on the backs of the hands of the *cadudorsa* to see if they are tattooed with the boat pattern. If they are, Kutao ferries the *cadudorsa across*. If the hands are not tattooed, Kuta cuts them off before taking the *cadudorsa* across the river.

Upon arriving at the place, each *cadudorsa* becomes young and handsome again and changes so that all of the people in that place are similar in appearance. 775

The place of the *cadudorsa* is a wonderful country, with the same kind of plants and animals as on the earth; but everything is perfectly lovely. Life there is much as on earth; but everybody is happy because there is no pain, nor sorrow, nor work.

The ruler of the place is Ewagan fourth son of Hatan. He creates food for the people and takes care of all their needs so that they have no work and responsibilities, living in continuous leisure. [776]

Thus life in the Future is one continuous party. Also a *cadudorsa* is sometimes invited by his relatives to attend a *sayam* in his old home on earth. 769 775